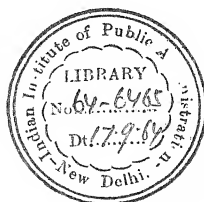


LINGUISTIC PROVINCES AND THE FUTURE OF BOMBAY

K. M. MUNSHI



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FOREWORD

This booklet is in substance a Note which as an Associate member I submitted to the Linguistic Provinces Commission. I thought that the results of my labours in this connection should be put before a wider public. As a matter of fact the Chairman of the Commission himself suggested to the Associate members that they were at liberty to publish their notes submitted to the Commission if they so desired.

The maps included in this book were prepared to illustrate the statements in the Note and are naturally approximate. Map I has been largely based on the linguistic survey made by Prof. T. N. Dave, Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor of Gujarati in the London University of the Gujarati speaking areas. I have, however, as a result of my studies made certain changes.

Map V "Linguistic Composition of North Konkan" has been prepared by me in the light of the available linguistic data and the personal knowledge of Dr. Hubert Mascarenhas, University teacher in the University of Bombay who carries on considerable social work in this area and knows all the languages in the area.

I take this opportunity of expressing my deep debt of gratitude to Prof. C. N. Vakil for giving me the benefits of his views on the financial implications and to Prof. C. L. Gheewala of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Prof. M. L. Dantwala of the University School of Economics and Sociology, Bombay, both of whom helped me considerably in the preparation of this note.

26, Ridge Road,
Bombay 6.
December 14, 1948. }

K. M. Munshi.



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PART I

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

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CHAPTER I

NATIONAL EMERGENCY AND PROVINCIAL REDISTRIBUTION

At a time when India is passing through a crisis it is unfortunate that the demand for redistributing the whole of India south of the Narmada has been made. It is much more unfortunate that this demand has been brought into the

• realm of practical politics by the appointment of a Linguistic Provinces Commission which has led to an array of conflicting claims, high-pressure propaganda and counter-propaganda followed by extravagant and more extravagant demands.

From the point of view of the infant State of India, nothing could be more inopportune. The world situation is explosive. The situation in the whole of East Asia, Indo-China, Burma, Malaya and in China itself, is disquieting. The Communist forces in India which hope to thrive only in unsettled conditions though under control, are still a potential danger. Internally the rising spiral of inflation, the

National Emergency: (i) External dangers and internal weakness. scarcity of food and clothing, the need for greater production, the immediate necessity of infusing the will to work among all classes are factors which need concentrated national effort. Our financial resources are strained to the utmost both in the Centre and in the Provinces. The administrative structure of the Centre as well as the Provinces depleted in number and experience by Partition has also been subjected to heavy strain. The integration of Indian States and the abrupt removal of their old administrative structure have thrown upon our administrative services a heavy burden.

The country has not yet tided over the effects of the Partition. Hyderabad needs months of strong government;

Kashmir is still a battle ground; several other outstanding issues have yet to be settled with Pakistan. The reaction of

- (ii) The effects of Partition. the religio-political nature of Pakistan on a section of the Hindu mind has not yet disappeared. Refugees from West Pakistan have not yet been fully settled or absorbed.

The problem of refugees from Eastern Pakistan may any moment become acute. The Hindu-Muslim tension in the country, though abated for the time being, has not been completely relieved.

Before the thirteenth century Hindu religion, culture and law with Samskrit as the predominant language of culture throughout the country provided the cohesive bond. But the bond was not sufficient to prevent the

(iii) Weak basis of our national unity. kingdoms from perpetually warring with each other. As a result, Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.) destroyed the kingdoms of Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Telangana in the South. These kingdoms comprising linguistically homogeneous people, inspite of the unity of religion, culture and law were not able to evolve the bond of political unity or to offer a common resistance against the Khalji conqueror. Since then there has been no linguistic state in the South. Akbar and his Moghul successors founded an all India political unity only by force of arms and the imperial structure which they imposed upon the country.

Modern Indian Nationalism is the product of over one hundred and twenty five years of unity created, firstly by British occupation; secondly, by the use of the English language and the common political outlook developed by the English educated persons in the country;

Modern Nationalism. thirdly, by the attempt made by persons to secularise and transform Hinduism in terms of modern ideas; and lastly, during the last thirty years, by the militant nationalism which Mahatma Gandhi inspired. British military occupation has ended with India's independence. The English language is bound to be a factor of diminishing vitality in our intellectual life; the

unity created by the English language has not been replaced by the unity of a national language and script. On the contrary provincial governments are in a hurry

The need for strengthening Nationalism.

to replace English by provincial languages. The militancy which nationalism developed for combating British rule is no longer left with any purpose. The national government today needs the integrating force of strong national sentiment till the State is placed on a firm foundation.

At a time, when the need for strengthening the national unity is so urgent, the demand for linguistic provinces has thrown the whole of the South into a vortex of controversy, bitterness and uncertainty. All other national issues

Vortex of bitterness and uncertainty.

have receded into the background. Even new election slogans based on linguistic sentiment are being raised. Every corporate activity is being influenced by it. In

the Central Provinces there is a conflict between Hindi and Marathi areas. In Berar, there is a conflict between the claims of Maha Vidarbha and United Maharashtra. In Bombay there is conflict between Gujarat and Maharashtra, between Maharashtra and Karnatak. Passions have been roused over the highly controversial issue about the position of the City of Bombay. In Madras there is conflict between the claims of Andhra and Tamilnad, and the controversy about the City of Madras. There is similar controversy between Tamilnad and Kerala. In Hyderabad which has recently attained peace and good government, the demand for separating the three linguistic areas has been raised. The non-Marathi sections in the City of Bombay are apprehensive of its forming part of a uni-lingual province. Certain political parties in Goa apprehensive of a uni-lingual Marathi province have been re-orientating their views on merger with India. The propaganda which preceded the tour of the Linguistic Provinces Commission and the passions which were roused in order to combat rival claims have created a most undesirable situation for the whole country. In a city like Bombay where the Gujarati and Marathi speaking communities have lived and worked together for about two hun-

dred years, there is a distinct cleavage as was never seen before.

Extravagant claims are advanced and are being supported by propaganda and other doubtful methods. There is no reliable scientific survey of languages available to divide the border districts now included in one province. The population figures of 1941 census are not accurate and due to the World War II and the migration of refugees, the balance of population has been altered in most of the border areas and in Bombay. Ancient history and geography of doubtful value are relied upon. If a plebiscite is taken it will rouse passions still more. If a plebiscite is not taken there will be general dissatisfaction. Even if the Provinces are ultimately redistributed, both sides will have grievances to nurse. A scientific and accurate survey essential to a proper redistribution therefore under these conditions is very difficult, if not impossible. Any attempt to redistribute the provinces will therefore accentuate the national emergency.

CHAPTER II

LINGUISTIC: ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

The elevation of a language as a basis for group-sentiment, seeking expression in terms of power-politics, may, for brevity, be termed linguism. It identifies language with culture and equates cultural with political frontiers of a province. This in essence is a form of modern parochial nationalism, for culture never has its boundaries confined to any single language group or areas and has no correlation to political ends. The protagonists of redistribution claim that their demand is not parochial, it will not weaken national strength nor will it retard the progress of the country. The origin and development of linguism in the South, however, shows that this claim is not well founded. As pointed out the Kingdoms of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Telangana and Chola Mandal were warring little kingdoms before the incursions of Alauddin Khalji. After him no kingdom and after the Bri-

British period no province or state was grouped on a linguistic principle. The origin and development of linguism in India have followed the same lines in most of the Provinces outside the Hindi-speaking belt. Bengal, the only linguistically self-sufficient province in India developed it first. The linguistic areas in the South developed it a little later. Young

Origin and development of linguism.

Indians, when they received English education, naturally tried to develop their own mother-tongue. In most cases, literary expression in these languages was achieved

by expressing English thoughts and attitudes through the medium of words and phrases borrowed from Sanskrit, the parent language of culture. Research in early literature of each province created a body of scholars with whom the love of that language became a paramount passion. This led to the foundation of literary conferences for each language, which provided a meeting ground to men who believed in their language as a distinctive entity. The next step was for the literary men of each area to reconstruct its history and as most of these literary men were Hindus, they naturally fell back upon the pre-Khalji period for creating a proud historical background. In Maharashtra, however, as the memories of the Maratha rule were comparatively fresh, it became still easier to reconstruct a history in which the Marathi-speaking people could take pride. Thus love of language led to language-consciousness; and from language-consciousness to a group sentiment based on historic greatness was but a step. The movement for an independent cultural development invariably led to a demand for a University to foster that culture. For instance, the Maharashtra University Committee, presided over by Dr. M. R. Jayakar, in their Report, while stressing the necessity for a University at Poona, laid down among others, as their objects, the following:—

(3) "While not losing sight of its essential character as a University, i.e. a seat of universal learning which recognises no frontiers or barriers, except those of the human mind itself, to keep in view the special needs, interests and traditions of Maharashtra and its people, and in particular,

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

- (a) its economic resources, its special problems of agriculture, industry and commerce and generally the various aspects of its economic and industrial life,
- (b) Marathi language and literature, the history, civilisation, art and culture of Maharashtra and in general every branch of study relating to what may be regarded as the distinctive features of the life and thought of the people of Maharashtra of all classes and communities."

In India, as in Europe, as Macartney says: "The purely cultural movement was, however, seldom more than a first stage. Almost everywhere it was accompanied by a political ambition."¹ Bengal as the only province united on a linguistic and ethnic basis, was the first to adopt this process and therefore the first to cross the boundary

Linguism and nationalism basically identical.

between love of one's language and linguism. It was in that province that at one time Bengali and non-Bengali feeling ran highest. Recently Maharashtra has followed suit. This is but the logical development of linguism. By the very logic of its formative principle, it has all the characteristics of an intolerant nationalism. All other linguistic groups within the particular language area are to be treated as aliens. Such nationalism, in the words of Professor Schuman, "implies friendship with the members of the 'in-group' and hostility towards members of all 'out-groups'. The 'in-group' is the focus of all social life "Stranger" is usually enemy and foreign cultures are strange and hostile."²

The political ambition of a linguistic group can only be satisfied by the exclusion and discrimination of other linguistic groups within the area. No safeguards and no fundamental rights can save them from the subtle psychological exclusion which linguism implies. "In such a case", in

(1) *National States and National Minorities*, p. 95.

(2) Frederick L. Schuman, *International Politics*, p. 222.

Macartney's words, "the rule of the majority, exercised, most often, under the title of democracy, is a true tyranny."¹

In the recent propaganda for United Maharashtra, for instance, from exciting speeches, articles full of intoxicating slogans, clever allurements, sinister intimidations to gigantic posters and symbols, all means generally associated with militant nationalism have been utilised for rousing emotions and hypnotising the masses.

The technique of
linguism.

In the Province of Bombay, the Marathi-speaking community forms a majority over Gujarati and Kannada-speaking people. They have a majority in the Legislature. Vast sums, which are alleged to be disproportionate, are spent in Maharashtra to the exclusion of other areas. Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, however, in his speech at the Maharashtra Unification Conference, asked the question: "Are Maharashtrians content to play a secondary role in our own city in Trade, Commerce, Industry, Power, Economics, Finance, Art, Education, Science, Politics and remain content with playing the part of secondary brokers to brokers, secondary agents to agents, assistant professors to professors, clerks to managers, hired labourers to shop-keepers, arranging elections for non-Maharashtrian members to Assembly, Councils and Corporation ?" It is being openly stated that Bombay is to be acquired for Maharashtra because that would enable it to *capture* commercial power. Several leading Maharashtrian merchants and businessmen declined to join the Bombay Regrouping Committee and several important witnesses were not forthcoming only on account of the intimidating propaganda carried on in favour of the United Maharashtra. It is also being openly stated that if Maharashtra was not constituted into a separate province, including the City of Bombay, bitterness would grow and the City would be visited with fearful consequences. Such technique is the inevitable concomitant of linguistic nationalism.

1 C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities*.

It is incorrect to say that linguism will not become a rival to nationalism. "The idea of linguistic redistribution", writes

Professor Beni Prasad, "awakens separatist tendencies in very small groups on the basis of dialects. It can be followed up only at the risk of atomising the country.

It weakens the will to reciprocal adjustments among groups who do not differ radically from one another and who can easily learn to live in amity."¹ In this case, it is the people who have learnt to live in amity, for over a century and more, that are sought to be divided. The centrifugal tendency of linguism is shown by the fact that a section of people speaking Konkani which is a Shauraseni dialect, structurally allied to Gujarati and influenced by Marathi have now claimed a separate province of Konkana on the ground Konkani is the speech of the people from Daman to Goa. If the linguistic principle is admitted, their claim as a separate entity deserving a province of their own in India cannot be logically resisted.

CHAPTER III

DANGERS OF PROVINCIAL REDISTRIBUTION

The protagonists of redistribution of provinces on linguistic principle base their claims on the Congress pledge. The principle of linguistic provinces approved by the Indian National Congress in 1923, however, does not apply to the present phase of linguism. As is well-known, Mahatma Gandhi divided the country into linguistic provinces in order that the message of the Congress might reach the masses in each province through its own language. It was never the intention of the Congress at that time that even during a national crisis, at the behest of an aggressive linguism, more than half the country should be submitted to a hasty redistribution. For the purpose of forming of provinces, the

1 Beni Prasad, *The Hindu-Muslim Questions*, p. 135.

Congress had at no time, emphasised the linguistic principle as the sole determining factor. *The Nehru Report* formulated the principle as follows:

"..... What principle should govern this redistribution? Partly geographical and partly economic and financial, but the main considerations must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned."¹

The Simon Commission remarked as follows:

"..... a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality. But it is not the only test—race, religion, economic interest, geographical continuity, a due balance between country and town and between coastline and interior may all be relevant factors. Most important of all perhaps for practical purposes is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed both on the side of the area that is gaining and on the side of the area that is losing territory."

Quite a large majority of responsible and thoughtful persons in India have given expression to the view that this problem should be shelved for a time, if not abandoned altogether. In the City of Bombay, the Bombay Municipal Corporation returned on adult franchise and the B.P.C.C. most of whose members have been responsible for building up the political life of the city during the last 20 years, have, in spite of individual opinions, come to an agreement that the life of the City should not be disturbed by the formation of linguistic provinces for a period of ten years. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his memorandum submitted to the Linguistic Provinces Commission, advocates the formation of a linguistic province of Maharashtra *only* if the national language is made the official language in the provincial administration and gives the warning:

"The creation of linguistic provinces would be fatal to the maintenance of the necessary administrative relations between the Centre and the provinces; if each

¹ *Nehru Report*, pp. 61-69.

province adopts its own language as its official language, the Central Government will have to correspond in as many official languages as there are linguistic provinces."

No advocate of linguistic provinces would press his claim if the condition precedent prescribed by Dr. Ambedkar is insisted upon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel characterised the impatient champions of redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis as "assassins of nationalism." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a recent press interview gives expression to the same view:

"I had already expressed grave apprehensions at the way people are driving this principle—linguistic provinces—in such a way as to produce more conflict and trouble than any kind of peaceful solution of the problem."

A pronounced feature of linguism has been first to claim the area in which the particular language is spoken and then to demand annexation of as much extra territory on any claim, linguistic, geographical, or economic that could possibly be bolstered up. If language is to be a bond for forming a new province, then the territory of that province must contain a very large proportion of people speaking that language. But as we see from the claims advanced, the representatives of the language-groups are sure to exert all their power and influence to gain all the territory possible for greater power, wealth and security. In this way power considerations are rationalised in terms of self-determination or irredentism. When these are not applicable, historic frontiers are insisted upon. This further leads to a claim to boundaries on the ground of economic self-sufficiency. For instance, Bombay is claimed on the ground, among others, that Maharashtra without it would be economically unthinkable. Thus, 'Historic boundaries and Manifest destiny' to use Schuman's words, are called upon to justify annexation. "When the line of linguistic cleavage is gained, then the next river or mountain range becomes the goal and when that is attain-

ed, some line beyond becomes the natural and necessary frontier."¹

To redistribute the Provinces of Bombay, C.P. and Berar and Madras into linguistic provinces would result in unleashing irredentist claims by linguistic groups leading to conflict and friction. There is bound to be an Andhra irredenta in Tamilnad and a Tamilnad irredenta in Andhra; a Maharashtra irredenta in Gujerat and a Gujerati irredenta in Maharashtra breeding discontent. Maharashtra has advanced claims over Bombay where the Marathi-speaking population is in a minority; Dharampur and Bansda which are Gujerati-speaking areas, and over Belgaum on the ground that the Congress wrongly placed it in Karnatak. The Tamils who have lived for centuries in Travancore want to be included in Tamilnad. The demand for Kerala province includes Cudaloor in Mysore State and South Canara upto Mangalore; Bengal is already claiming on the same grounds some districts of Bihar. These claims supercede the claims of accomplished adjustments and are only a cover for annexationist ambitions, disturbing the life of the whole community.

Linguism has also given birth to what may be described as linguistic imperialism. In the memorandum submitted to the Commission by the Samyukta Maharashtra Delegation, Dharampur and Bansda, parts of Gujerat, have been claimed as a part of Maharashtra. Some have claimed other parts of Gujerat, including Baroda, as legitimately falling within Maharashtra; other persons have gone to the length of claiming parts of India over which the Maratha rule extended once upon a time, as falling within Maharashtra, the proposed Samyukta Maharashtra being only 'nuclear Maharashtra.'

The attempt to demarcate the boundaries at the time of the Paris Peace Conference after the First World War is a warning to all who try to repeat the European experience. The hastily accomplished partition of India was fraught with

¹ Schuman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 246.

untold misery. The same experience will be repeated if the present provinces are also disrupted in hurry.

It is curious that even the protagonists of redistribution are not agreed among themselves. The Marathi-speaking

Conflict of Interests within the same language group.

people are not unanimous in having one province; Maha Vidharbha wants to stand out. The non-Marathi-speaking majority of Bombay do not desire to go with the United Maharashtra. In Karnatak-speaking areas, the leaders of Mysore are not agreeable to come within the Province of United Karnatak. The Rayalaseema Districts are not yet reconciled to a United Andhra. The champions of linguism, however, want that the Constituent Assembly should, by a fiat, force linguistic areas into separate provinces in disregard of the wishes of the minorities in clearly demarcated and self-sufficient areas.

An agitation by leaders for redistribution of provinces having resulted in the appointment of Linguistic Provinces Commission, it is now claimed that a stage has been reached when if South India is not redistributed into linguistic provinces, bitterness and antagonism will increase. 'If Bombay is separated from Maharashtra', Prof. Gadgil says, 'the City will look across and face

Danger of frustrated linguism.

a sullen and impoverished and resentful countryside which will refuse to co-operate with any settlement of the city's problem." It is openly stated that unless the demand is granted, administration will be rendered impossible. This argument has a familiar ring; one heard of it when the Pakistan cry was raised in the country. The danger that if redistribution is not effected immediately, every act of the provincial legislature or Government concerned will be viewed from the point of view of the conflicting linguistic claims is illusory. As a matter of fact, even today the representatives of each linguistic area and even of each constituency view and act from its own point of view. But there is the general sense of the community reflected in every legislature and government which is bound ultimately to guide the majority party in running the administration of the province. But,

if the choice arose, it is better that the conflict, if any, should be restricted within the relatively harmless sphere of provincial legislation and administration rather than that living organisms should be wrenched asunder and disruptive forces let loose in the country.

As experience has shown that the multi-lingual areas in spite of internal jealousies have adopted in national matters a much broader outlook than uni-lingual provinces. The broad national outlook of the city of Bombay for instance
 Multi-lingual areas preferred.
 * arises solely by reason of its multi-lingual composition. The advanced political thought has preferred a multi-national state in order that the evils which nation-states produce are minimised.

These being the dangers of redistribution it is better that the Constituent Assembly should face the risk of frustrated linguism rather than embark upon the dangerous experiments of redistributing the whole of South in hurry and under pressure of intensive and impassioned propaganda at a time of national emergency.

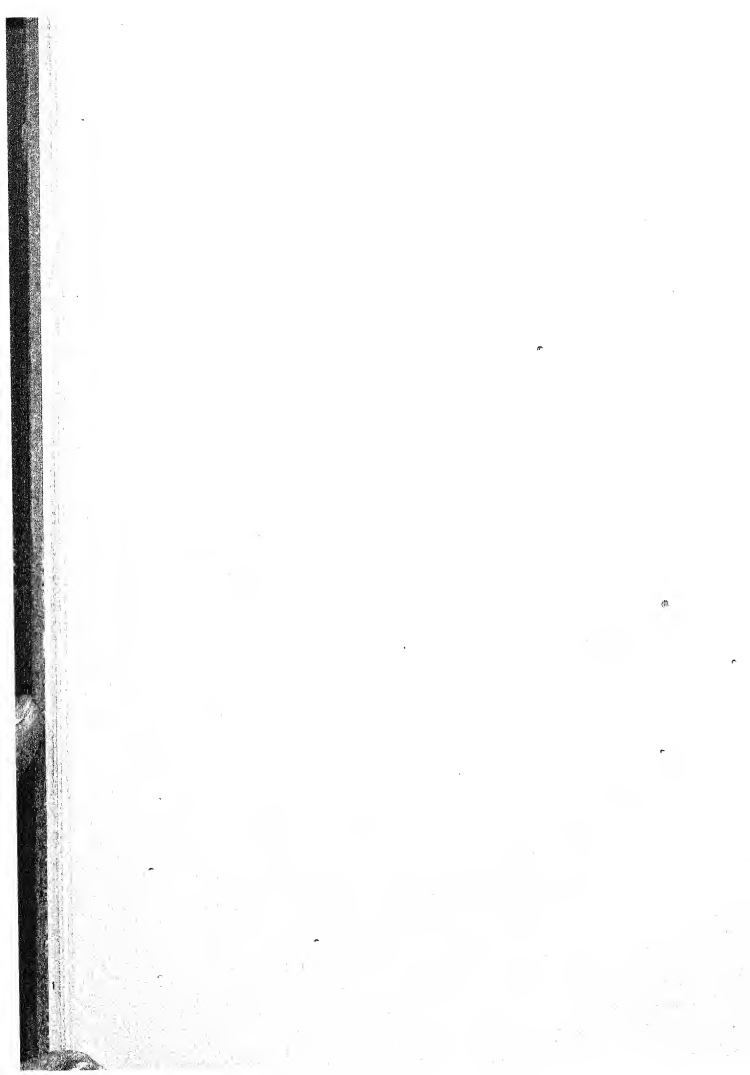
A redistribution of provincial boundaries should only be undertaken when the national emergency has passed and when a dispassionate consideration of the relevant factors i.e. administrative, economic and geographical, is possible. In redrawing such boundaries, linguistic or cultural homogeneity may be taken into account without necessarily equating political with linguistic frontiers. The U.S.S.R. provides an illustration how full freedom to develop one's regional literature, art and cultural traditions can be maintained without political autonomy. The autonomy allowed to nationalities in Russia is very limited since it is purely cultural and stops short of all questions of politics and economics. Even in purely cultural sphere, Bolshevik theories drastically limit the scope and content of such liberty. As Macartney observes, "The dissociation of poli-

tics and nationality is not a tyrannical measure in itself, but merely the distinguishing of two things which in their nature are distinct and "ought to remain so in practice."¹ The future distribution, therefore, must guard against the identification of linguistic frontiers with political frontiers which otherwise might lead to the growth of dangerous centrifugal forces in the country.

¹ : Op. Cit. P. 463.

PART II

THE FUTURE OF BOMBAY



CHAPTER I

THE CLAIMS AND COUNTER-CLAIMS

Apart from the question whether provinces should be distributed on linguistic basis, the claim for United Maharashtra may be examined. To the memorandum submitted for United Maharashtra a map is annexed in which the boundaries of United Maharashtra are so drawn as—

Claims for United Maharashtra :
Its extent.

- (a) to retain such parts of non-Marathi speaking areas as have now been included by administrative accident during the British rule; for instance, the Gujarati and Bhilli speaking areas in the District of West Khandesh;
- (b) to add to it the adjoining territories which have so far been considered as non-Marathi-speaking areas: for instance, Dharampur, Bansda, and Dang, which are Gujarathi speaking areas, or Belgaum which has so far been considered a part of Karnatak, and to claim for it part of North Konkan area and Bombay and Salsette which are multi-lingual areas.

The Gujarat Research Society, while opposing the redistribution of the Province, has in the alternative put forward a counter-claim so as to include in Maha-Gujarat:

Counter-claim by
the Gujarat Research
Society.

- (a) areas like Dungarpur, Wanswada, Jabua and Alirajpur, now included in Rajasthan and which are stated to be predominantly Gujarati and Bhilli speaking areas;
- (b) Sirohi in the North which is reported to have been accepted by the Government of India as part of Gujarat;
- (c) Certain Gujarati and Bhilli speaking tracts now included in the district of West Khandesh; and
- (d) Talukas of Umbergaon, Bassien and Palghar in the Thana district up to the river Vaitarna.

The limits of Maha Gujarat as claimed by this Society are shown in continuous thick black line and the linguistic boundaries of United Maharashtra are shown in a thick dotted line on the Map "I". Maha Gujarat, however, is not claimed as a province but as a division of the Province of Bombay.

The issues underlying disagreement. The disagreement between the claim and the counter-claim arises by reason of two contending positions:

A. Whether Bhilli, Ahirani and Khandeshi dialects spoken in certain areas outside the present limits of Gujarat and included in West Khandesh district is a Gujarati or Marathi dialect; and

B. Whether Konkani, as spoken in North Konkan, i.e., the Thana District, Salsette and Bombay City is a dialect allied to Gujarati and whether in this area there is a substantial element of Gujarati speaking people.

A claim has also been put forward for a Province of Konkan (*vide* Map "II") on the ground, among others, that the language of the masses, the bazar and the home in the coastal tract from Daman to Goa is Konkani; that this language is not derived from Marathi though
 Claim for the Province of Konkana. in some parts of Konkan, particularly South Konkan, it has been loaded by Marathi or Portuguese loan words and in parts of North Konkan by Gujarati or Portuguese loan words. Konkan geographically and economically is a maritime province and is distinct from the Desh, i.e., the plateau of Maharashtra and that, therefore, when provinces are re-aligned on the basis of language "the age-old wrongs done to the Konkani-speaking people should be redressed." "This alone", according to the protagonists of Konkan "will bring home the fruits of independence, else they shall have been bartered for one form of bondage for another and the last stage will be worse than the first."

The Gujarat Research Society has annexed to their Memorandum the results of a philological survey made by Prof. Dave, of the Bhilli area showing that, as indicated in

the Map "I", the dotted area between the present limits of

Gujarat is populated by people speaking either Gujarati or Bhilli which has not been Marathicised. The limits within which the Bhilli settlement

Bhilli and Khandeshi.

are found are also shown as bounded in red line on the map "A" hereto. The Bhills once occupied the best parts of modern Gujarat, but have been driven to their present habitat as a result of the pressure of immigrants from the North. The Bhilli and Khandeshi have been described by competent authorities as dialects of Gujarati. As a matter of fact, the Gujarati speech itself is derived from Western Rajasthani which was a product of an impact between Shaurseni, Prakrit (as distinguished from Marathi Prakrit, the ancestor of Marathi) and the original language of the Bhills and Abhirs or Ahirs, the latter of which is still styled Ahirani.

The Marathi Sahitya Parishad was wide awake to these difficulties, particularly on account of the fact that scholars considered Bhilli, Khandeshi and Konkani as more or less allied to Gujarati. In 1942, therefore, it appointed Com-

Need for dispassionate inquiry into linguistic claims.

mittees to report on the question of Bhilli, Khandeshi and Konkani. Differing from the view of scholars who had studied the question before the controversy arose, they published their conclusions which were that Bhilli, Khandeshi and Konkani are all Marathi dialects. An appeal was issued to the people of Konkan, under the signature of influential Marathis that Konkani should be described as 'Marathi-Konkani' for the purpose of the census of 1941. The determination of these issues depends largely upon a scientific and dispassionate enquiry into the language of the masses in the disputed areas. As regards the claim of the Gujarati Research Society for certain parts of West Khandesh and others included in Rajasthan, the matter would fall within the jurisdiction of the Boundary Commission if and when it is appointed, aided by experts. The question of Konkani is different because it has a bearing on the claim that the City of Bombay and its suburbs are part of 'Maharatha territory.'

The position, however, remains that those who claim a linguistic province should establish beyond the shadow of doubt that a substantial majority, say about 75%, of the people speaking that particular language occupies the area they demand. They have no right, in claiming a linguistic province, to include within its jurisdiction any area having an independent life of its own in which that language does not predominate. Grierson, who made an exhaustive survey before 1904 laid the northern boundary of the Marathi-speaking area (shown in Map "II" by the dotted black line) far inside the boundary now claimed for United Maharashtra. Any outside area must be established beyond doubt to be so un-lingual and culturally homogeneous that it must necessarily be included in the linguistic province. This has a great bearing on the question of the City of Bombay and North Konkan.

The claim for including North Konkan, the City of Bombay and suburbs in United Maharashtra principally rests on the ground that 'Bombay is a Maratha territory'. This claim is based on grounds, historical, geographical, cultural and administrative. When these are felt to be inadequate, an appeal is made to face facts as they are and take into consideration the present which, in other context, is denounced as a result of inequitous accidents of history. The two claims, however, are inconsistent. If United Maharashtra is claimed on the footing that all that had happened since the British rule should be ignored, then the considerations arising from the present have no bearing. If the present is the only test, any reference to past is irrelevant. Both these grounds therefore must be separately considered.

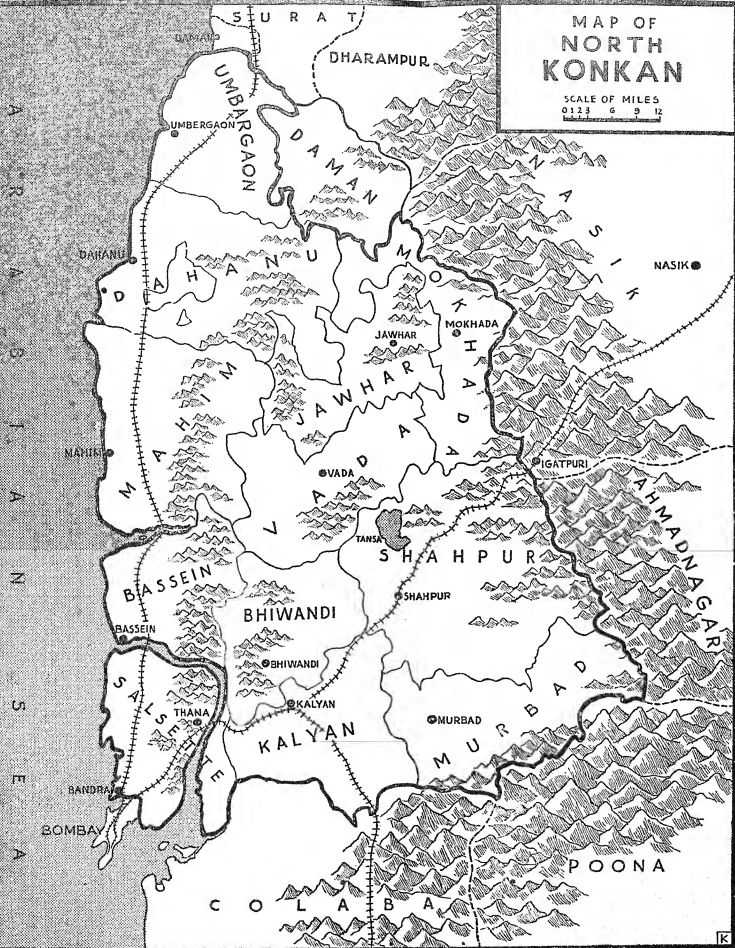
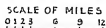
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL

NORTH KONKAN AND BOMBAY

The broad facts of history are that North Konkan up to Bombay was from the earliest times of which there is any record a kingdom separate from South Konkan and Maha-

SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3 6 9 12



rashtra. A branch of the Shilaharas ruled North Konkan about 760 A.D.,¹ their capital was at

Thana. Often they continued to rule as feudatories of some conqueror. Thana was

stated by Arab travellers like Al Masudi to be a part of Gujarat up to the time of Alberuni (1030 A.D.)²

According to the Arab travellers the language spoken in the tract was Larvi, i.e., Lati, the same as used in South Gujarat of today, Lat being the name of the sea-board of Gujarat from Cambay to Thana. Siddharaj Jayasimha, the Chalukya conqueror of Gujarat (1094-1143) is recorded to have built forts from Wadhwan to Thana.³ His successor, Kumarapala, (1143-74) annexed North Konkan and made it a district of his kingdom. His successors retained their hold over certain places along its coast. In 1310 Thana is stated by Rashi-ud-din to have been included in the kingdom of Gujarat, which was then governed by the viceroy of the Sultanate of Delhi. With intermittent and short periods, it so continued to be included in the kingdom of Gujarat till 1534 A.D., when by the treaty of Bassein the Sultan of Gujarat ceded it to the Portuguese. By about 1734 the Marathas occupied Thana. In 1774, however, it was taken by the East India Company and annexed to Bombay, when the latter's contact with Gujarat was closer than with Deccan. A few places in North Konkan which were left to the Marathas were surrendered to the East India Company by the Treaty of Poona in 1817. In 1844 Thana district was placed with Gujarat districts in the Northern division of the Presidency of Bombay and has continued to be so till now. Till a few years ago, for educational purposes, it was under the Educational Inspector of Gujarat; now it is attached to the Bombay Inspectorate. Any claim based on North Konkan on historical grounds, therefore, is unsound.

Chief Justice Westropp of the Bombay High Court in *Sakharam vs. Sitabai*⁴ while considering the applicability

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 537.

(2) *Ibid* p. 524.

(3) Munshi : *Imperial Gurjars*, p. 175, footnote No. 3.

(4) (1879) 3 Bom. L. R. 385. See also excerpts from the above Judgment annexed hereto as Appendix A.

of Mayukh law to North Konkan (Mitakshara law being applicable to Maharashtra and South Konkan) reviewed

Uniform personal law in Gujarat, North Konkan and Bombay.

most of the authorities relating to the historical and cultural unity between Gujarat and North Konkan. He came to the conclusion that 'connected, then, as Karanja and the rest of the Northern Konkan so frequently were with Gujarat and Bombay down to that period (A.D. 1534) we should scarcely expect to find a Hindu law of succession prevailing on one side of Bombay harbour different from that existing in the Island of Bombay in Gujarat.' Justice Batchelor in *Narhar Damodar Vaidya vs. Bhanu Moreshwar Joshi* confirmed the same view.¹ The same personal law governs Cutch, Gujarat, North Konkan, Salsette and Bombay. *Vide* Appendix A.

The Island of Bombay was originally a group of several islands which were unwholesome little pendants to North

History of the Bombay City. Konkan separated from it by a stormy creek. Salsette itself was also split into several islands. The Bombay

islands were generally included in the North Konkan, but Bhimdeva or Bimba appears to be their first independent ruler in the 14th century. Fleeing from the devastation inflicted on Gujarat by the armies of Ala-ud-din Khalji (1299 A.D.) he escaped with a few families to these unwholesome islands and founded a small kingdom. Scholars have disagreed as to whether Bhimdeva came from Gujarat or Maharashtra. But *Bimbakhan* makes it clear that he came from Anahilavadi, the capital of Gujarat and his retinue was drawn mostly, from Gujarat.

The islands also became part of the Sultanate of Gujarat and by the treaty of 1534 came into the hands of the Portuguese. In 1661 the king of Portugal gave them to Charles II of England in dowry. In 1665 their possession

Foundation of Bombay.

was delivered to Humfray Cook by the Portuguese Viceroy. In 1668, however, Charles II transferred it to the East India Company. Shivaji raided Surat passing through the Nasik-

(1) (1916) 40 Bom. L. R. 621.

Bulsar route twice between 1667 and 1672. Aungier, the then Governor of the Surat Factory, decided, in view of the insecurity of Surat as the headquarters of the East India Company, to transfer them to a place secure from the rising Maratha Power except by sea where the British were powerful. It was intended to be a "port for the exportation and importation of goods and persons to Persia, Mokha and other parts,"¹ and was for a considerable time a port subsidiary to Surat in Gujarat. Since then the East India Company and later the British Government built up the city of Bombay. At no time within the historic period was Bombay under Maratha rule.

CHAPTER III

NORTH KONKAN: EARLY IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR SPEECH

The claim that Bombay, North Konkan or Salsette was originally a Marathi speaking tract is equally unsustainable.

In order to realise the growth of population in Bombay it must be remembered that North Konkan with the Bombay Islands as

¹ Early immigrants to North Konkan and Bombay.

pendants was a land-pocket formed by the Arabian Sea in the west and the Western Ghats on the east *vide* Maps "I" and "III"). In those days it was accessible only by the sea or land through forests and swamps. The only highway between the South and the North of India till 1865 was the Nasik-Bulsar route which passed to the north of this land-pocket.

The lowest strata of the population in North Konkan consists of Dublas, Warlis and Katkaris as shown in the map 'I' annexed hereto. These dark aborigines were evidently pushed into the pocket including the islands of Bombay by pressure of immigrants from the North.

(1) Edwards, *The Rise of Bombay*, p. 107.

The next immigrants into the islands of Bombay were the Kolis, who on all authorities continued to be their original inhabitants till Aungier founded the city of Bombay. The

distribution of the Koli population (in 1885) as shown in the Map "I" annexed hereto clearly shows that Kathiawad and Central Gujarat was the home of the Kolis in pre-historic times. With the advance of the Aryan tribes they were pushed southwards upto Bombay; and they crossed over by the sea to Kolaba and Ratnagiri in small numbers. "The distribution of the various sections of the tribe points to Gujarat rather than the Southern country as their original home, and in all likelihood they are descended from the pre-Aryan population of Gujarat, which gradually spread itself over the western littoral and absorbed the hunting and fishing clans of the Stone Age. Certain however it is that they formed rude hut-settlements in each of the seven islets of Bombay, and brought with them from Gujarat Mumbadevi, the patron goddess of Bombay, who under the title of Mommali is still worshipped as a village goddess in Kathiawar."¹

A section of the Kolis became sea-faring and are known throughout Gujarat and Konkan as Kharva or Kharvi. In view of the difficulty of pushing into the North Konkan pocket through the jungles of Dharampur, Dang and Vansda they carried on coastal communication between Cambay, the ports of Kathiawad, Broach, Navsari, Daman, Shurparaka, Thana, Bombay Islands and Cheul.

Kharva Kolis.

North Konkan pocket through the jungles of Dharampur, Dang and Vansda they carried on coastal communication between Cambay, the ports of Kathiawad, Broach, Navsari, Daman, Shurparaka, Thana, Bombay Islands and Cheul.

The whole of the western sea-board from Sindh downwards was known in early literature as Aparanta, from a tribe called Aparantas in the *Mahabharata*.

But Konkan appears in the *Mahabharata*, *Harivamsa* and *Markandeya Purana*. The Kankanas and the Bhrgukachhas which respectively gave the name to Konkan and to Bhrgukachha (modern Broach which in Hiuen-Sang's time was applied to the tract from Broach to Daman) were associated tribes

Early Aryans in North Konkan.

(1) *Imperial Gazetteer of Bombay City*, Vol. II, p. 2.

which occupied the western sea-board from Broach to Bombay. Broach in Gujarat and Shurparaka in Konkan which are both associated with Parashuram, the descendant of the sage Bhrigu, indicate that from Broach to the islands of Bombay stretched one region inhabited by early Aryan tribes.¹ If the Parashuram myth that the Aryans under his leadership pressed southwards to Narmada, that Konkan was brought up from the sea by him and that he retired to Shurparaka in North Konkan has any germ of historical truth, it would appear that early Aryan tribes immigrated by sea to North Konkan, Bombay, and even lower down by the coast line. •

The Bhrigukachhas, associated with Bhrigu, the ancestor of Parashuram, and the allied Kankanas evidently brought an early Aryan Prakrit with them to the coastal tract from which Konkani has sprung. In 1922 Dr. Jules Bloch in his celebrated treatise *La Formation de la Language Marathe*² wrote: "By its geographical features as by its population, the Prabhu, the Koli and the Thakur are met with in Gujarat as well. The Konkan is related to the region of Surat and to Gujarat. It is the same with regard to language. The common traits are more striking and numerous in the South. Attention may here be drawn to the nominative singular masculine in—o³ (Marathi, generally—*a*), the neuter plural in—*am* (Marathi, generally in—*em*), the first person singular pronoun *hun* (Marathi, generally *mā*), the infinitive in—*um* (Marathi, generally—*nem*). The 'Marathi of the Konkan' (i.e. Konkani of the North) ignores these peculiarities; but it still has in

(1) There is Parashuram tirth near Bassein in North Konkan and on the north of the Narmada. Bhrigukachha (modern Broach) an ancient entrepot is sacred to Bhrigu, and there are references to Bhrigu tirthas on the west coast in ancient Sanskrit literature.

(2) p. 26.

(3) This distinction sharply demarcates the Indio-Aryan languages allied to Shauraseni Prakrit, Punjabi, Jaipuri, Marwari, Mewati, Gujarati and Konkani, from others allied to or derived from other Prakrits. In the former the termination indicating nominative singular of words ending in *a* viz; *Visarga*, becomes *u* and then *o*; in the latter it becomes long *a*. e.g. *ghotah* (skt) — *ghota-u*; *ghoda-u* (old form); *ghoda* (modern including Gujarati and Konkani). In the other group, *ghotah-ghotaa-ghodaa* (modern Hindi and Marathi).

common with the Konkani (i.e., of the South) and the Gujarati a great portion of its vocabulary and an exceptional construction of the past tense of its verbs." In the census of 1931 it is observed that 'Konkani' is properly "the language spoken in Goa and in parts of the western littoral. It is considered by scholars to be derived not from Marathi but separately and earlier from another Prakrit."¹ The opinion to the contrary of the Committee appointed by the Marathi Sahitya Parishad, therefore, cannot be treated as convincing. The structure of Konkani is decidedly Shauraseni Prakrit from which Gujarati is derived. Marathi influence is found progressively only as one proceeds from Daman to Ratnagiri. From this it would be legitimate to infer that the first Aryan settlers of the Konkan came by the sea from Gujarat and spoke its language. Up to the 10th century A.D. the language of Gujarat and Thana was the same as in Lata, as attested to by the Arab travellers.

CHAPTER IV

NORTH KONKAN: ITS POPULATION AND SPEECH UPTO 1885

The North Konkan including Bombay has attracted the people from Gujarat and Kathiawar and even foreign countries long before the Marathi speaking people came and settled there. Among the immigrants by sea during the early centuries of the Christian era were the Brahmans and other settlers on the Vaitarana and in Shurparaka from Gujarat and Sind; Arabs in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries; Parsi refugees from Persia in the 8th and 9th centuries; Arab and Persian traders and refugees; Gujaratis who followed the Chalukyan conquerors in the 10th and 11th centuries; and immigrants from Kathiawad and Gujarat who escaped from Arab and Turkish persecution.²

Immigrants into
North Konkan
Early centuries.

(1) *Census of India, 1931, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 329.*

(2) *Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, Part I, pp. 60-1.*

The Prabhus, the official caste, originally Kayasthas, came to Salsette and Bombay with Bhimadeva or Bimba in the 13th century and first settled in Bassein, Salsette and Mahim (Bombay). Prabhus in Salsette and Bombay. They came from Gujarat and not from the east. "This view of the origin of the Prabhu is supported by the fact that the Palshes, their original priests, follow the White or Gujarat Yajurved, and, as is the rule in Gujarat, forbid marriage between those whose mothers' fathers belong to the same family stock."¹ The retinue of Bhimadeva, who came *via* Anahilvada, the capital of Gujarat, from Paithan, which may either be Paithan in Maharashtra or Patan in Gujarat.² He brought with him Yajurvedi Brahmins of the White branch and other families from Champaner, a town in Gujarat, and other places.³ These families consisted of Suryavamshies, which, if Kshatriyas, can be the Pratihars of Gujarat and Rajputana, the only race which claimed descent from the Solar line, or Khatiks⁴ of Lad or Lat (South Gujarat); of Panchalas, a large community of carpenters still found in Gujarat; and of others expressed to be Lads (residents of Lat); and of one family from Modhera in North Gujarat.⁵

The Muslim rule between 1300 and 1534 A.D. left the first legacy of an Indian Muslim settlement in Mahim in Bombay. The Portuguese rule brought the Konkani speaking Christians who mainly consist of persons of Portuguese-Koli descent or Kolis by conversion. In 1671 Aungier invited the traders from Surat, as also brick layers and labourers in large numbers to build Bombay.⁶ The scavengers in Bombay are mostly Gujarati speaking and also appear to have come from Kathiawad and Surat about that time. In the 18th century the Brahmins

(1) *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, Part I, pp. 60-1.

(2) If Bimba came from Paithan of Maharashtra to arrive *via* Anahilavada in North Gujarat would be a curiously roundabout way.

(3) *Bombay Souvenir*, p. 15.

(4) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII, p. 156.

(5) The Sheshavamshi families which Bhimadeva brought are identified with the Bhandari or today tappers.

(6) Edwards, *The Rise of Bombay*, p. 114.

from Cambay and Kapol Baniyas from Gujarat settled in North Konkan and Bombay. The great famine of 1803 brought many fugitives from Gujarat—Jains, Khojas, Memons, and Bohras, the last three being Muslims. About this time also came the Bhatias and Lohanas from Kathiawar and Cutch.

The Ghats were yet uncrossed by a highway. The East India Company was at war with Marathas till 1818 and there

Mixed Population
in 1885.

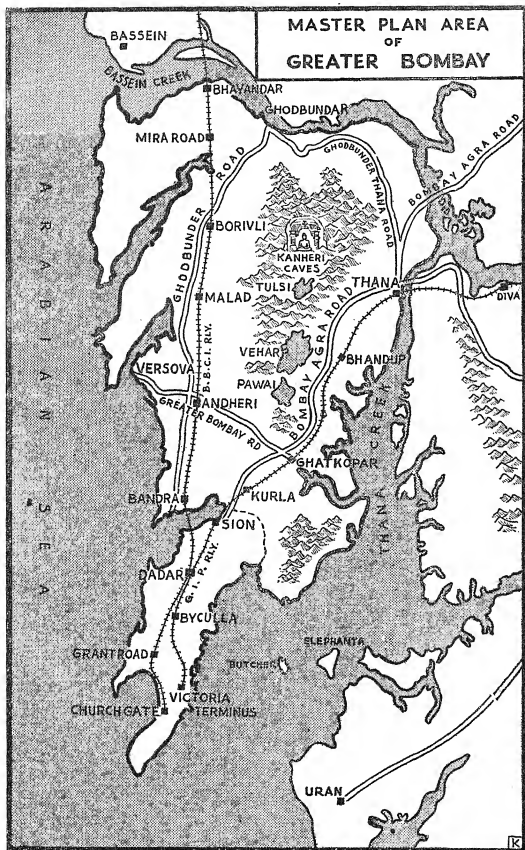
was no large scale immigration from Maharashtra into North Konkan or Bombay. The plateau was first opened up in 1865 by the G.I.P. Railway. Writing in 1885 about North Konkan, the contributor in the *Bombay Gazetteer* says: "Under the English there have been additions to almost all classes and from almost every quarter. Brahmans have come from Ratnagiri and the Deccan as priests and Government servants, from Gujarat and Marwar as priests to Gujarat and Marwar traders, and from Upper and Central India as priests, messengers, labourers and servants. Of traders there are Marwar Vanis, a rich and powerful class found in almost every village as shopkeepers and money lenders; Lohanas and Bhatias from Cutch and North Gujarat, grain and cloth merchants in most of the leading towns; and Lingayat Vanis from the south Deccan, who in many parts hold a strong place as village shopkeepers and money lenders. Of craftsmen and servants, weavers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, barbers, washermen and others have come both from Gujarat and the Deccan. The number of husbandmen seems to have been little increased by outside settlers. But more than one set of labourers have come from Gujarat, Upper India and the Deccan."¹

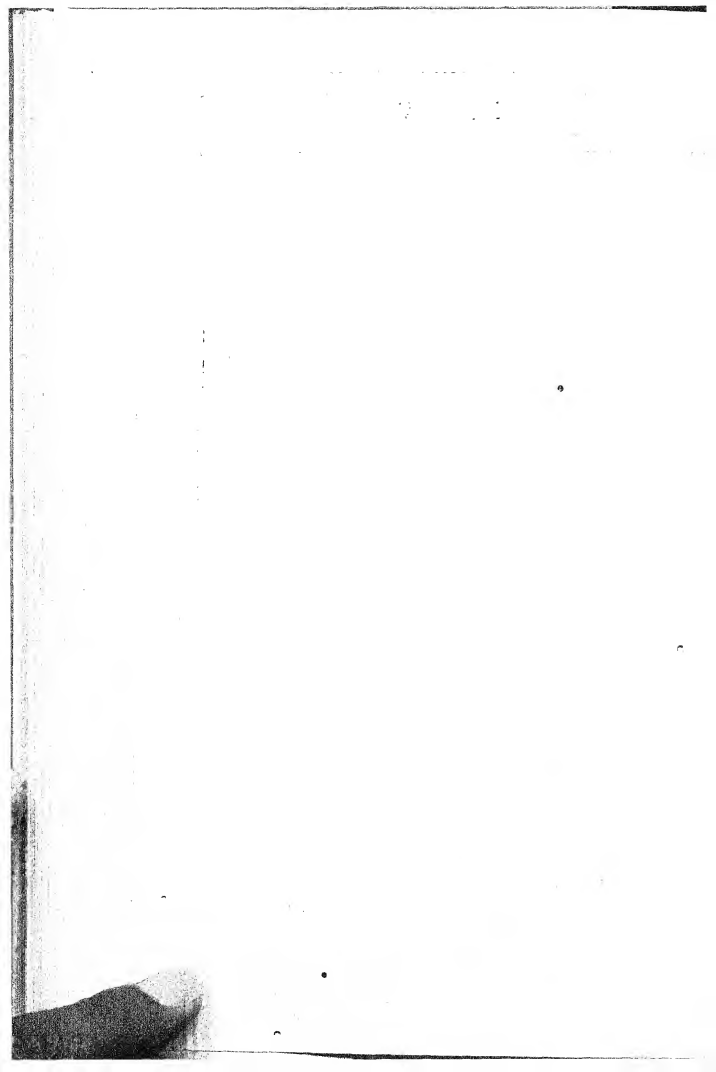
He adds: "These additions to the Thana population may roughly be said to have divided the district into four sections; the rugged north-east where the early tribes remain almost unmixed; the coast whose people have a strong element from beyond the sea, chiefly from Gujarat and Kathiawar; the great central Vaitarana valley the head-

North Konkan
mainly non-
Marathi.

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 64.

MAP IV





quarters of the Telheri tribe whose surnames show an early Rajput or foreign element; and in the south, along the valley of the Ulhas where the leading tribes are or at least call themselves Marathas."

The position of language in 1885 is thus summarised : "North of Umbargaon Gujarati is spoken by all classes. The people understand Marathi and use a good many Marathi words, but the bulk of the vocabulary and the grammar is Gujarati. From Umbargaon south as far as the Vaitarna between the coast and the railway the language of almost all classes except Maratha Brahmans and other late immigrants, is also Gujarati rather than Marathi and along the Dahanu coast where Gujarati is taught in the Government schools, the Gujarati element is so strong as to make the ordinary speech unintelligible to any one who knows Marathi only."¹ (Italics are mine.)

North Konkan, therefore, had doubtless a large majority of non-Marathis up to 1885. In the three talukas of Umbargaon, Dahanu and Palghat, i.e., up to Vaitarna, Gujarati was the predominant language. Claims of the Gujarat Research Society therefore that the southern boundary of Gujarati is the Vaitarna river was an undisputed fact in 1885.

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CHAPTER V

GEOGRAPHICAL LINKS WITH BOMBAY

About 1850 the population figures show that out of 5,66,119 persons in Bombay, the Hindus were not more than 51 per cent and in all probability the bulk of them was non-Marathi speaking. The textile and other

Population : 1850
and 1872.

industries having not yet been established, the Marathi factory labour was absent, and naturally the Marathi population would be smaller than the non-Marathis. Domestic labour was either Surti or Indo-Portuguese. Dr. Hewlett in his report of 1872 remarks that "Nowhere else probably in the world, not even

(1) *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 68.

in Alexandria, are so many and such striking varieties of race, nationality, and religion represented as in Bombay.”¹ By then the population had increased to 6,44,405 of which the Hindus were about 65%.² As the industries came to be founded in the sixties and the B.B. & C.I. and G.I.P. Railways were opened, labour first came from North and South Konkan by sea, then from the Deccan, Gujarat and Kathiawad, and later from Rajputana, Madras, U.P. the Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan.

The growth of Bombay was entirely independent of Maharashtra and interlinked with Gujarat and Kathiawar.

The Ghats Separate Bombay and Maharastra till 1865.

In this connection certain important facts connected with transport have to be noted. Till 1865 there were no direct transport links between the Island of Bombay and the Deccan. Communication was possible only through the circuitous route of South Konkan. The Western Ghats stood as a barrier between the Deccan and Konkan, and transport was perilous. Mackay remarks:

“For how is the Deccan situated? It is an inland district, the portion of it lying south of the latitude of Bombay being at an average distance of 25 miles back from the sea. But this is not all; for although so near the sea, it is separated from it by an obstacle which throws it virtually a hundred miles from it. That obstacle consists of the Ghauts, which, along its entire length, constitutes its western border, (*vide* maps “I” and “IV”). This formidable range of hills, stretching with scarcely a break, from the south bank of the Taptee to Cape Comorin, presents to the Konkan or low country which intervenes between it and the sea, in some places a broken and tumultuous aspect, its huge rugged masses, as they descend into the plain, being shrouded in luxuriant vegetation; and in others the appearance of a continuous naked and perpendicular wall. It is behind this stupendous natural rampart that the Deccan is situated, at an average elevation for at least 100 miles

(1) Edwards, *Rise of Bombay*, p. 299.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 299.

to the eastward, of nearly 2000 ft. above the level of the sea."¹

Before 1831 the traffic between the Deccan and Bombay was negligible. Konkan was full of forests. Transport links with Gujarat by the sea route were direct, easy and remarkably cheap. Most of the immigrants had come by the sea. Bombay was the successor to Surat, which was an international port of Mogul India, and the earliest settlers were from the Surat district. Not merely merchants and traders, as is sought to be made out, but brick-layers, labourers, Surti domestic servants and scavengers from Gujarat and Kathiawar had come from Gujarat. On the other hand, the trade from Berar and the Deccan passed to Bombay chiefly through the dependent ports on the mainland, a small part of the produce of the southern districts taking the route of Viziadroog or Malwan. Regarding the perilous nature of the transport over the Ghats, Mackay remarks:

Transport links with Gujarat and Maharashtra compared.

"The Poona road is well bridged, but not thoroughly so, there being several places in the Konkan where, during the rains it is crossed by streams which have to be forded, the road in such places being strongly causewayed, to prevent it from being washed away. The great obstacle to traffic upon it is the Bhore Ghaut about thirty miles from Panwell. Here the ascent is made from the low to the high land an elevation of 2000 feet being gained by a winding, zigzag and frequently precipitous course of about four miles in length. This is one of the two points at which only, as already said, the ghauts can be ascended or descended by wheeled vehicles with any thing like safety along a course of about 500 miles. Yet so difficult of ascent or descent is this, which is generally regarded as one of the best constructed and most practicable of all the ghauts, that no one ever thinks of driving up or down it in a carriage. Passengers travelling by the public conveyances are carried up and down in palankeens, there being different sets of

(1) Mackay, *Western India*, pp. 368-9.

coaches for the high and low portions of the road. Private carriages are pulled up or let down by numerous bodies of coolies or they are carried up and down, swung from a number of poles which rest on the men's shoulders."¹

Sea route from Gujarat to Bombay was very cheap. In the words of Chapman, even after the Bhore Ghaut was opened, the ports of Gujarat and Kathiawar sent to Bombay the bulk of its cotton which was the principal import and export commodity in which trade was carried on in Bombay. Khandesh cotton was sent to Bombay *via* Surat. To quote Chapman again:

"The ghauts were yet uncrossed by more made roads than the single one at the Malsej, made or more probably restored, by Nana Furneeves and even that was reached by difficult routes from the north and east and led to a bad route through the Konkan. The Konkan itself of a climate inimical to the men and cattle of the interior and an outlying and inferior province of the Mogul and afterwards of the Mahratta Empires, was covered with wild forests, almost destitute of water in its northern part, through which the more direct line between Berar and Bombay would have led...."²

Chapman though he called the cotton fields of the Deccan and Berar "the greatest cotton field of India" writes that they supply comparatively a small quantity of cotton having no means of carrying it away.

Both in regard to trade and transport, therefore, Bombay was better linked with Gujarat than the Deccan and the rise of Bombay as an international port largely depended upon Gujarat till the last quarter of the 19th century. Bombay to-day is equally, if not more, connected with

Transport links
with Gujarat.

Gujarat and Kathiawad than with the Deccan because the B.B. & C.I. Railway has not only established a link with the whole of Gujarat but by its through communication with the

(1) *Ibid.*, pp. 380-1.

(2) Chapman, *Cotton and Commerce of India*, pp. 74-5.

whole of North India, particularly with the capital city, New Delhi. In addition to this, even today there is considerable trading between Bombay, Gujarat and Kathiawad by sea. With the new Bombay-Ahmedabad road land communication with Gujarat is as easy as with Maharashtra. Air service, link Bombay, Gujarat Kathiawad and Cutch much more closely than any other neighbouring area. It cannot, therefore, be suggested that the communication link of Bombay with or through Maharashtra is better than with Gujarat.

In view of this, the City of Bombay cannot be said to be geographically a part of Maharashtra. It is an external, international port which drew its suste-

Bombay, an external port.

nance from Gujarat and Kathiawad in the beginning and from all parts of India after the two great railway systems were introduced. It will therefore, be inaccurate to claim Maharashtra as the only hinterland of Bombay. Its hinterland is India.

CHAPTER VI

POPULATION OF BOMBAY: ITS PRESENT COMPOSITION

It is also submitted by the protagonists of United Maharashtra that any scheme of redistribution of the province should take into account its present condition and its importance to the rest of the country. In considering these factors, no doubt, the population and the language spoken

Population 1931 and 1941.

in the Province and its economic inter-dependence with neighbouring areas are factors to be taken into account. The claim that Bombay has largely a population of Marathi-speaking people is unsustainable though it is difficult to obtain exact figures. The Census Reports of 1931 and 1941 furnish the following data :

1	2	3	4
	Total Population in City and Suburbs (in lakhs)	Marathi Speaking population (in lakhs)	Percentage of 3 to 2
1931	13.4	6.6	49.25
1941	17.4	8.1	46.7

THE FUTURE OF BOMBAY

So far as the population of 1948 is concerned, an approximate estimate alone can be made. Following the well-known statistical method of compound rate of growth between 1931 and 1941 and taking the same percentage as in 1941, the result would be as follows:—

	Total population in City and Suburbs (in lakhs)	Marathi speaking (in lakhs)	Percentage
1948	20.9	9.8	46.7

The area and population of Bombay (Municipal Limits), Greater Bombay¹ and the Master Plan Bombay area (*vide* Map "V") are as follows:—

	Area (Sq. Miles)		Population according to		
	1931	1941	Census 1931	Census 1941	Ration Card 1948 Sept.
Bombay City (Municipal Limits)	24.19	26.189	11,57,851	14,89,459	29,15,791
Greater Bombay	78.19	80.189	12,95,459	16,99,104	33,55,925
Master Plan Area	..	223.5	..	..	38,00,000 ²

In order to determine the proportion of Marathi speaking population the following considerations have to be kept in mind :

(1) The proportion of the Marathi speaking people has shown a downward tendency since 1921, the reason being the increasing influx of non-Maharashtrians from other provinces and particularly from U.P. and Rajputana.

(1) As defined under the Greater Bombay Laws and Bombay High Court Act of 1945.

(2) The Master Plan as prepared by the Modak Committee in which the whole Bombay, Greater Bombay and the Suburban district up to the Bassein Creek is included.

(3) This figure is an approximate one. Information received from the Municipality is that the population of the Master Plan area today is about 40 lakhs; but a conservative estimate has been taken. The rest of the figures are official.

(2) The economic boom between 1941 and 1946 can account for at least 3.5 lakhs of the population in which the proportion of Marathi speaking people is comparatively less, only about 50%, i.e., 1,75,000.

Special factors in the increase of population.

(3) War-time refugees mostly non-Maharashtrians, arrived in large numbers from Burma, Malaya and Singapore and their number may be placed at two lakhs.

(4) The partition refugees from Sind¹ and the Punjab are stated to be about 4 to 5 lakhs Sindhis and 50,000 Punjabis; but taking it at a moderate figure, they cannot be less than 3.5 lakhs.

These factors would account for the extra 13 lakhs of population now in the Greater Bombay area.

The Committee which prepared the Master Plan estimated in 1946 that the increase of population since 1941 was 8.8 lakhs, while the normal increase upto 1946 would yield only 2.4 lakhs. This excess was, therefore, due to the special causes mentioned above. Obviously there could not be any appreciable Marathi-speaking element among the war-time or partition refugees. Disregarding the progressive reduction in the number of Marathis and taking 9.8 lakhs on the basis of normal growth as the Marathi-speaking population in Bombay and Suburbs, the special causes could not have added more than 50% of 3.5 lakhs, i.e. 1,75,000. This would increase the Marathi speaking population to 11.55 lakhs out of 33 lakhs; in any event not more than 36% to 38% of the total; in no case more than 40%.

Marathi Speaking 37%

(1) A point is made that the Sindhi refugees in Bombay should not be considered as residents of Bombay for the purpose of this Computation. There would be some meaning in excluding inmates of temporary refugee camps, but it would be improper and against all principle to exclude such of them as have become habitual residents of Bombay. They are domiciled in India; they will be citizens of India under the new Constitution, with a fundamental right to move and reside in every part of India. If they are excluded, will immigrants from other parts of the country since August 15, 1947, be excluded? The partition refugees settled in Bombay, therefore, cannot be treated as squatters or trespassers. Any such view cannot be justified unless it is assumed that Bombay belongs to the Marathi speaking, and that any non-Marathi resident though bonafide is a trespasser; if taken, it would be fraught with dangerous implications as applying to many parts of India.

It is common ground that the Deccan and Konkan between them supply a majority of Marathi speaking labour of Bombay. In July 1941 the Bombay Millowners' Association published a Summary of Workmen's Service Records so far as the major industry in the City was concerned. The survey revealed that 29.7% of the textile labour was from the Deccan, i.e., purely Marathi speaking; 46.2% was from Konkan; a small section of it, about 5%, would comprise Kon-

kani Christians whose dialect is loaded with Portuguese words and Konkani Muslims whose dialect is loaded with Urdu. The balance supplied by non-Marathi-speaking areas from areas speaking neither Marathi nor Konkani was 24%. The percentage of textile labour speaking Marathi or Marathi loaded Konkani could not, therefore, be more than 72% in 1941.

At present the textile labour according to the Millowners' Association is estimated to be 2,20,000. In view of the fact that between 1941 and 1946 there has been a large influx from non-Marathi speaking areas, particularly U.P., the Marathi speaking labour in the textile industry cannot

be more than 65%, may be, nearer 60%.

This labour is not permanent but shifting.

The same: 1948.

A part of it comes to Bombay fitfully and even the permanent workers do not make Bombay their home. A very large percentage does not even bring their families to Bombay.

Taking non-textile labour, which is estimated to be about 3,00,000, the section of it drawn from Maharashtra and Konkan is stated to be much less in comparison to textile labour. For instance, the Port Trust has a large percentage of U.P. Punjab and N.W.F.P. labour, and the Tramways a very large percentage of U. P. labour. A large percentage of domestic labour also consists

Non-textile labour.

of people drawn from Gujarat, Mangalore, C.P., Madras, U.P. and the non-Marathi speaking Konkani Christians. In this class of labour, percentage of Marathi-speaking workers could not be more than 50%.

The proportion of Marathi-speaking in the aggregate labour of Bombay cannot, therefore, be

Marathi labour : more than 57% of the total.
57%.

This estimate does not take into account the class of sweepers and scavengers, most of whom come from Gujarat and Kathiawad; as also the large number of small shop-keepers, clerks, cooks and other classes of quasi-manual labourers who are drawn from different parts of the country. These are predominantly non-Marathi speaking, because the middle-class, both upper and lower, is predominantly non-Marathi in Bombay. The contention that

Quasi-manual labour.

(a) labour in Bombay is overwhelmingly Marathi and (b) Bombay has been built solely by Maratha labour is an overstatement.

CHAPTER VII

CULTURAL AFFINITIES OF BOMBAY

From the point of view of cultural affinities Bombay is all India, neither Maharashtrian nor Gujarati, providing to all communities the freedom to develop their own language, literature, and art. The protagonists

Bombay—An all India centre of culture.

of United Maharashtra, till a claim for it was put forward, looked upon Poona as their capital both political as well as cultural. Whenever in the past the Government of Bombay wanted to give up its four months' exodus to Poona the argument put forward was that Poona being the capital of Maharashtra, the most important part of the province, Government should reside there for some time in the year. When the claim for a University for Maharashtra was pressed and conceded, it was on the principal ground that the Bombay University did not satisfy the cultural needs of the Marathi speaking people. But linguism has now pro-

duced a sudden *volte face*. Bombay is claimed to be the only capital of Maharashtra; the acquisition of the Bombay University for Maharashtra, the only way to develop Marathi culture.

All impartial and thoughtful men attest to the cosmopolitan outlook of Bombay. In the professions and

the trade, persons drawn from all communities and provinces have worked together as Bombaites. To any one who knows Bombay it will be clear that its permanent resident has not the same outlook as a Gujarati in Ahmedabad or a Marathi in Poona or a Kanarese in Dharwar. Dr. V. G. Dighe, M.A., Ph.D., a Maharashtrian, writing on the City in the Bombay Souvenir in 1947 says :

Cosmopolitan outlook.

"Education has proved a great solvent in breaking barriers of prejudice, superstition and bringing the different communities together. They have come together to work out their common problems and to solve their common difficulties. The varied contacts of the Bombay citizen develop in him an outlook on matters social, political and religious and that is the chief reason why Bombay is always in the vanguard of progress."¹

Of this cosmopolitan outlook of Bombay, its University is the greatest symbol. Gujaratis, Marathis, Kanarese and other Indians and Europeans have worked together for well-

The university in Bombay.

nigh 90 years producing a broad national outlook and to some extent an international approach. This is mainly due to the multi-lingual character of the city and its all-India and international contacts. At this time when India has to develop an international outlook it is essential that a multi-lingual University which has developed such a character should not be placed under any uni-lingual domination.

In contrast with what was stated about Poona so far, it is now claimed that Bombay is the home of the intellec-

¹ *Bombay Souvenir*, p. 47

Bombay and Marathi culture.

tual and cultural activities of Maharashtra; that Marathi newspapers are being published in Bombay; that Marathi educational institutions have been founded in Bombay.

It must not however be forgotten that the most active intellectual life in Maharashtra is concentrated in Poona, which has provided professors not only to educational institutions in Poona and other Marathi centres but to other parts of the Province and even other Provinces. The Marathi Sahitya Parishad (Literary Conference) has its headquarters in Poona and so also the Itihasa Samsodhan Mandir which has been instrumental in resuscitating Marathi History. The influential Marathi newspapers like 'Kesari,' and 'Lokashakti' come from Poona and reflect the trends of Marathi opinion.

This argument, however, is entirely irrelevant because Bombay equally, if not more, is the centre of Gujarati activities. In the fifties of the last century the first Gujarati association devoted to learning 'Buddhi Vardhak Sabha' was founded in Bombay. A few years later the

Bombay as the pivot of Gujarati culture.

Forbes Sabha, a society devoted to historical studies, was founded in Bombay and is perhaps the oldest society of its kind still functioning. The Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, (Literary Conference), a federal institution of literary societies in Gujarat has its headquarters in Bombay. One of the largest educational societies in the Province and a large number of schools are conducted by Gujaratis in Bombay. The most powerful Gujarati dailies and weeklies with a circulation which reaches almost every town and village in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Cutch, are published from Bombay. The largest charities founded by Gujaratis are in Bombay.

Similarly, the Gujarati speaking Parsis as well as Khojas, Cutchi Memons and Bohras (all Gujarati-speaking Muslims) and others have also their literary and other associations in Bombay; their well-known charities are in Bombay; their

Bombay and other cultures.

newspapers are published from Bombay. During the last twenty years as the Hindi speaking population has grown, Bombay has become one of the big cultural

centres for the Hindi speaking world. The Christians have some of their influential organizations and educational institutions in Bombay. In Bombay, Matunga, referred to in popular parlance as 'Madras', have the Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam speaking population which may number over one lakh. They have also their cultural and religious associations in Bombay.

Prof. Gadgil and many other protagonists of United Maharashtra have stated that the language of administration and instruction in the new United Maharashtra would be Marathi. The non-Maharashtrians in Bombay, who constitute

Multi-lingual city

a majority, according to them, will have their fundamental rights as minorities to use their own language, but the official language of the City would be Marathi.

But Bombay has always been accepted as multilingual for all official purposes. The Bombay Government has accepted it as such; though the recent confirmation of the position by the present Government has evoked criticism from some Marathi leaders. Even by the Congress Resolution of 1923 Bombay has been constituted as a multilingual province. To annex the Bombay City to United Maharashtra formed on linguistic basis, therefore, would have the result not only of destroying the cosmopolitan character of Bombay but of placing the non-Marathi speaking population in cultural subjection.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF BOMBAY

Aungier wanted to found an international port which would become a great centre of import and export trade in India; and his desire was more than fulfilled under the nursing care of his successors. The city of Bombay was

India, Bombay's
Hinterland.

connected with important trade centres in India by the two great railway systems viz., the B. B. & C. I. Railway and the G. I. P. Railway by 1865. The opening of the Suez

Canal made it the most important gateway to the West. Railway rates were so fixed that through traffic from Bombay to important centres all over India would be encouraged. As a result, Bombay depended for its hinterland not on Maharashtra as is now claimed, or any single neighbouring area, but practically on the whole country. It is, therefore, the economic centre for the whole of India.

Karachi is no longer part of India. The importance of Bombay City, therefore, for trading even with North India has increased. It accounts for about 40% of the total foreign trade of the country. The proposed development of ports in Kathiawad, Cutch or in the south will not seriously affect the position of Bombay City as a port of international importance. No new port can have a centralised communication system as Bombay. Its potentiality for trade in the future is so large that the proposed new ports will not be sufficient to absorb the further development of trade which the port of Bombay itself cannot undertake.

The development of industries in Bombay was mainly due to the wealth accumulated by trade activities of the business communities during the 18th and 19th centuries. The Bombay City, in view of its area and population, is the most highly industrialised centre in the country, though the number of people employed in industries is somewhat larger in Calcutta. The principal reason for this concentration is that the Bombay city is a centre of land and sea communications which could obtain with ease raw materials on the one hand and machinery on the other; at the same time it is in a position to send its products to the markets where there is a demand. The city itself is a big market place for some of the goods it produces. The textile industry employs 2.2 lakhs of workers. Among the other important industrial and trade activities may be mentioned those connected with electrical and mechanical engineering including the assembly plants for motor cars and the distribution centre for both importers and locally assem-

All-India trade centre.

All-India industrial centre.

bled cars and the allied industries of coach building, repairing and servicing which have grown in Bombay to an extent greater than in any other centre in the country.

The phenomenal growth of trade and industry in the city has had its parallel in a similar growth of financial houses. With its network of banks and insurance companies, with its large financial houses of stock brokers, underwriters and financiers, with its highly developed Stock Exchange, Bullion and other Exchanges and with the headquarters of the Reserve Bank of India, Bombay enjoys

Financial nerve
centre of India.

a pre-eminent position as the leading financial centre of the country. For the floatation of loans required by the Government of India or Provincial Governments, resort has to be had to the Bombay market. For the floatation of joint stock companies also it is the principal source of supply of capital.

As is well known, the capital market of the country must be carefully nursed for the purpose of industrial development. It is a sensitive organism which cannot be trifled with except at the risk of facing serious consequences. The Central and Provincial Governments as well as large private entrepreneurs who have large schemes of industrial and other developments, depend upon Bombay market in one way or other for raising capital. If this capital market is disturbed by political realignments, it will have country-wide repercussions of an undesirable character.

Dangers of trifling
with capital
market.

Those in charge of industry, trade and finance in the city of Bombay and its suburbs are predominantly non-Maharashtrians. On the testimony of several competent authorities the share of the Maharashtrians is not more than 5 per cent. 50% of the looms in the textile industry is under the management of the Hindi speaking. Serious apprehensions are entertained in various quarters regarding the possibility of the domination of a uni-lingual people in the life of Bombay City in case it is to be joined to a linguistic province.

Economic and
industrial interests
predominantly non-
Maharashtrian.

Even Dr. Jayakar stated that Gujarati carpenters in Poona are apprehensive of their position if United Maharashtra was established. This apprehension is not a mere harmless obsession. Several persons have already made plans for moving to centres outside Bombay if

Consequences of
incorporating Bom-
bay in Maharashtra.

Bombay is to go with a uni-lingual province. Industrialists have been known to have kept several of their intended projects pending in order that they can move them out to other places in the event of Bombay being linked up with such a province. Even charitable donations have been known to be given in the city of Bombay on the condition that in case Bombay is so incorporated they should be utilised outside Bombay. There is not the slightest doubt that the entire economic and financial structure of the city of Bombay would seriously suffer if these apprehensions came true.

Assurances have been held out by protagonists of the linguistic province that once they get power they will look after the interests of the minorities and would really see to the industrial future of the city. But as pointed out, once provincial autonomy begins to express itself in terms of linguism, it will try to acquire economic power by political means. Cases have been known where companies have been discouraged or handicaps have been imposed on the starting of industrial projects on the ground that the promoters do not belong to the dominant linguistic group of the province. Hyderabad provides a concrete example. During the last twenty-five years, the machinery of the state was utilised for the purpose of diverting the control of industry and finance in an imperceptible manner from the hands of one community to those of the other. When linguistic 'nationalism' becomes rampant such results are inevitable. The protagonists of the United Maharashtra have left the public in no doubt that their intention is to utilise the resources of the Bombay City for the development of Maharashtra even to the extent of diverting industries from the city of Bombay to Maharashtra. The bitterness prevailing against the non-Maharashtrian mercantile firms in Maharashtra as well as the charge of exploitation towards the non-Maharashtrian

business community in Bombay City clearly go to show that the inclusion of Bombay City in Maharashtra would be a signal for the disintegration of economic structure of the city and for the migration of financial interests to more congenial spheres.

CHAPTER IX

FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF REDISTRIBUTION

Professor C. N. Vakil and other economists have worked out the financial implications of redistribution of the province of Bombay. Minimum expenditure for overhead charges on the basis of experience of small provinces like Bihar and Orisa is taken as follows:—

Bombay City and suburbs	..	Rs. 60 lakhs
Maharashtra	..	" 75 "
Karnatak	..	" 50 "
Gujarat	..	" 60 "
		<hr/>
Total		245 " ₹

This estimate of expenditure is an underestimate for it is bound to be very much more. The merger of territories has also not been taken into account in working out the figures. These estimates therefore have to be increased by 33% in order to arrive at a fairly accurate estimate.

In regard to revenue account, the central subsidy amounting to Rs. 175 lakhs has not been taken into account because the same cannot be treated as a normal source of revenue. The amount received by the Government of Bombay as its share in the divisible pool of taxes on income for the year 1947-48 can be divided among the units on the following proportion having due regard to the industrial and commercial activities of these units:—

Share of the divisible pool of taxes on income:

	Percentage share.	Amount in lakhs of Rs.
Bombay City & suburbs	50	310
Gujarat	25	155
Maharashtra	15	93
Karnatak	10	62
		<hr/>
	Total	620

It may further be noted that in the estimates regarding the allocation of revenue and expenditure to different provinces other large items viz., Rs. 385 lakhs by revenue and Rs. 676 lakhs of expenditure have been excluded, since these items do not admit of a clear cut logical division. If these items were to be distributed on any other basis, the deficit of the different units as indicated below is likely to substantially increase. Besides, in view of the fact that the policy of Prohibition is being pursued by the Government of Bombay, it must be assumed that the revenue from excise will disappear as soon as possible. It will be appropriate therefore to deduct the excise revenue from each of these units to get a picture of the financial position of each of them in the future. After making all these adjustments the position was summarised by Prof. Vakil as follows:—

Estimates on Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure redistribution: for each of the units based on figures of 1947-48 (in lakhs of Rs.):

	Bombay City & suburbs	Maharashtra	Karnatak	Gujarat
<hr/>				
<i>Revenue :</i>				
A. From Provincial sources	18,20	11,07	340	427
B. Provincial share of income tax ..	3,10	92	62	155
Less Excise revenue..	2,51	3,54	95	103
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total ..	1,379	8,46	307	479

	Bombay City & suburbs	Maha- rashtra	Karnatak	Gujarat
<i>Expenditure.</i>				
A. Ordinary expenditure	7,80	15,55	523	510
B. Overhead Charges	60	75	50	60
Total ..	7,90	16,30	573	570
Plus surplus or deficit	+5,89	-7,84	-2,66	-91

The official estimates are given below : (in lakhs of Rs.)

Official Estimates	Bombay including B.S.D.	Maha- rashtra	Gujarat	Karnatak	Total
Receipts ..	13,28	11,07	4,27	3,38	31,00
Expenditure	7,64	15,93	5,30	5,46	34,33
Surplus ..	5,59	....	....	....	....
Deficit ..	....	-4,86	-1,03	-2,15	....

The above estimates clearly show that each of the linguistic units of the Province of Bombay, viz., Maharashtra, Karnatak and Gujarat is in deficit and that the budget as a whole of the province is balanced with the help of the surplus

derived from Bombay city and suburbs. If, as the protagonists of United Maharashtra claim, the city of Bombay including suburbs is incorporated in Maharashtra the

Injustice in including Bombay in Maharashtra.

other two units will be left to their own resources to make good their deficits. The attempt to make solvent at the cost of the other two units will be manifestly unfair and more so when we remember that the surplus revenues of Bombay City and suburbs are contributed substantially by the non-Marathi speaking population of the city, which is more than 60%. The same injustice will be intensified when the death duties are imposed, since among the people of Bombay who will be liable to the duties, perhaps 80% will be non-Maharashtrians.

As to the expenditure on capital accounts, the position becomes more revealing and the injustice of the proposed division becomes more glaring. In this connection it is pertinent to observe, as pointed out by Prof. Vakil, that out of the capital expenditure of irrigation at the end of the year 1935-37 amounting to Rs. 1,075 lakhs, Rs. 1020 lakhs were spent on irrigation work in the Maharashtra districts.

The Government of Bombay used to incur a net loss of Rs. 30 lakhs every year, though the war has slightly improved the financial position of these works for later years. Thus in the pre-war years, so far as capital expenditure is concerned, it has been mainly incurred in Maharashtra and Bombay City, while Karnatak and Gujarat have been hitherto neglected.

It must however be noted that the revised five year plan of the Congress Ministry shows a change for the better in as much as fairly adequate allocations have been made for Karnatak and Gujarat. If Bombay were included in Maharashtra, the equitable distribution of capital expenditure envisaged in the post-war reconstruction plans will suffer and it will be difficult for other units to proceed with such schemes. In view of these important financial considerations, it would be unjust and inadvisable to redistribute the present Province of Bombay into separate units.

CHAPTER X

THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY: AN ORGANIC UNITY

The facts set out in the earlier chapters establish that the Bombay city and suburbs are not dependent upon any neighbouring hinterland. On the contrary,

Organic Unity of
the Province due
to the City.

the trade, commerce and industry and the multi-lingual cultural activities of Bombay have substantially contributed to and influenced the life of the whole Province. Any claim that the City of Bombay belongs to any particular part of the Pro-

vince is therefore unwarranted. The unity of the Province which has been built up during the last 150 years, therefore, if broken up at the behest of aggressive protagonists of linguism, will disrupt not only its institutional continuity and economic power but its whole life built up by the combined efforts of the whole country. With the City as the predominant inter-linking factor, the Province will continue to be one in spite of normal regional jealousies.

In considering the break-up of the Province of Bombay, the resulting effects on the units separated cannot be ignored.

If Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnatak without Bombay are formed into separate provinces all the three will be deficit provinces; they would also lose the power, wealth and all-India importance derived from the fact that the City is their common capital. If, on the other hand, under the insistent demand for United Maharashtra, Bombay City is handed over to Maharashtra alone, the City of Bombay will lose its multi-lingual character; its trade, industry and commerce will be seriously affected; and the non-Marathi speaking majority will be subjected to the political domination of aggressive linguism. The Province of Karnatak will be a deficit Province. The four districts of Gujarat, now six by merger, will be driven out of the Province of Bombay to the building up of which they have also substantially contributed, to form a weak new Province. Any equitable consideration of the problem would, therefore, rule out the possibility of an important part of the present Province being forced, under pressure of another part, to go into the wilderness.

Two arguments based on certain assumptions may be noted. The first is that the State of India being a Federal one, linguistic provinces must follow. It is difficult to understand this contention. In the first instance, India was under unitary rule for over a century. Neither the Government of India Act, 1935, nor the present Draft Constitution envisage a strictly federal structure of India. Both these constitutions are mixed constitutions. The problems

So-called Federal approach.

of India have to be taken as they are and not shaped to suit some abstract first principle of doubtful application. But even if this argument were right, nowhere has it been accepted that once there is a federal structure, provinces must be divided on a linguistic basis.

Another assumption on which the division of the Province of Bombay is sought is that the commitments and the policy of the Congress require such division. This point has been dealt with in an earlier Chapter. But even the commitment and policy of the Congress in the case of the City of Bombay have accepted the principle that where an area is manifestly multi-lingual, it should be constituted into a separate Province. The Congress has so far never accepted the principle that Bombay is a part of Maharashtra or is a uni-lingual city, which, by the way, would be untrue.

CHAPTER XI

BOMBAY CITY AS A CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED AREA

If the Marathi-speaking people in Maharashtra and Mahavidarbha have to be constituted into a separate uni-lingual province, only such area should be

Bombay City: A separate Province. included in its territory as is Marathi-speaking by 75% majority. For this purpose a scientific survey of the linguistic limits of Maharashtra should be made by independent and dispassionate experts. In that event, the following areas which are multi-lingual should be formed into a separate province centrally administered, namely,

- (a) the city of Bombay, Greater Bombay and the Master-plan area (*vide* Map "V"); and
- (b) such parts of the districts of Thana and Colaba as are bilingual or, by their dependence on Bombay, have more or less become its suburbs.

On the analogy of a free State or a City-State of medieval Europe, it has been contended that such a City-State is

impossible under modern conditions. The analogy is unsound. In medieval Europe, a city or a free State was sovereign without sufficient resources in men and material to stand against the surrounding sovereign States of large dimensions. One of the main reasons of the collapse of the city of Venice, for instance, was that, in spite of its wealth, it had not enough men to form a powerful land army. In this case, the new unit will only be a province of India centrally administered, surrounded by provinces of the same State.

Even at present, the administration of Bombay is in many respects independent of the rest of the province. Its revenue system, meagre though it is, in tenure and incidence, different from that of Gujarat or Maharashtra. The City Police, working under the Bombay City Police Act, is independent of the Provincial Police, both in structure and powers, except for a recent change whereby the Police Commissioner of Bombay was placed under the Inspector-General of the Province. Its Small Causes Court, City Court, Criminal Courts presided over by Presidency Magistrates, and the High Court in its Original Jurisdiction form a judicial system different from the judicial system prevailing in the districts. The Municipal Corporation of Bombay has been constituted by an Act specially adapted to the needs of the City, and has large and independent powers with an income of over six crores. Its administrative problems, in view of the complexity of its life, are entirely different from those of the districts. Its taxation system is also different from and unconnected with that of the rest of the province. It is also found from experience that, when legislation relating to the City of Bombay comes before the Provincial Legislature, members representing the districts, unfamiliar with the City's problems, evince little interest or fail to do justice to it.

The contention that such a unit of Bombay will be too small does not bear scrutiny. In the U.S.A., the city of

Bombay City:
Administration
independent.

Columbia has an area of 61 square miles and a population of 6.6 lakhs (1940). In point of population, every unit in the Swiss Federation is smaller than the proposed Bombay unit. The largest State of Graubeden has an area of 2,746 sq. miles but a population of 1.3 lakhs; the smallest State of Basel Stadt has an area of 14 sq. miles and a population of 1.15 lakhs. In India, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg and Panth-Piploda with a population of 3,000 were centrally-administered areas. The area of the island of Bombay is 26.189 sq. miles, population 29.15 lakhs, and its revenue 13.23 lakhs. The area of Greater Bombay, constituted in 1945, is 80.2 sq. miles; its population 33.55 lakhs. Its estimated municipal revenue is over 7 crores and its provincial revenue, about 14 crores. The area of the Master-plan Bombay is 223.5 sq. miles, a population of 38 lakhs. The suburban district which now runs from Andheri, a suburb on the boundary of Greater Bombay, to the Bassein Creek consists of—

- (a) some settlements of Konkani Christians which are slowly disappearing; and
- (b) the suburban population reflecting the character of the population in Bombay but pre-dominantly non-Marathi.

The area of the Master-Plan Bombay is shown in the map "IV". The Master-Plan shows the enormous possibilities of the Bombay unit as one of the most

Bombay Unit.
Its value to the Centre. flourishing international ports in the world. Its economic importance to India has already been exhaustively dealt with. In

addition, it may be pointed out that Bombay alone contributes 40% of the Customs revenue of India and 20% of the income-tax revenue. It is the biggest communication centre of the country controlled by the Government of India. It is the principal port of the west coast. It is the terminus of two very important railway systems. When the Santa Cruz aerodrome is fully developed, it will be the principal airport in Asia for international communications. Its post, telegraph, and broadcasting activities are central. Its

strategic importance to the country as a whole from the point of view of the Navy and the Air Force is undisputed. With the growth of these two branches of Defence, Bombay's claim to be the second capital of India would be more than justified. Forming it into a separate unit, instead of weakening Bombay, will strengthen its all-India character and usefulness.

It has already been pointed out that the Thana district, to which the Bombay island was always an adjunct till 1671, is a multi-lingual area. (Map "III"). The

Thana as part of the Bombay Unit. ghats, from three to four thousand feet high, shut it off from the Deccan plateau.

Its climatic conditions are also different; the racial element is also mixed; and Virar on the one side and Kalyan on the other form the terminus for local trains from Bombay, and everyday thousands of people come to the city for their avocation from the suburban centres on the two Railways situated in the District. Adding the district of Thana to the city of Bombay will also give scope for the expansion of the City, which now an economic capital of India, may not unjustifiably become a second capital.

The case of the four taluks of the Thana district from Umbergoan in the north to Bassein in the south may be specially considered, for they have character*

The four coastal Taluks: Linguistic position. istics of their own. The admitted linguistic limits of Gujarati ends with the

Damanganga river, which runs north of Umbergaon taluk as shown in the Map "V". The protagonists of United Maharashtra have stated that the whole area from Damanganga to the island of Bombay, including the suburbs, is Marathi-speaking. Swami Anand, who was once closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi, had his ashram in Thana for several years. His view is that a sort of corrupt Gujarati with Marathi loan words is spoken by the masses in the bazaar and the home in the whole District. Prof. Dave calls the language of these coastal taluks Surti-Gujarati, while Dr. Hubert Mascarenhas, the Principal of one of the leading Christian Schools in Bombay and a linguist who is intimately associated with social work in these taluks, is of the view that the language of the people is

the northern variant of Konkani with a greater load of Gujarati-loan words, and that, in the primary schools that he had visited, Marathi books had to be explained to the pupils in this Konkani. There is equally no doubt that, during the last 50 years, the official language and the language of a majority of primary schools has been Marathi on account of the policy of the Education Department of the Government of Bombay, and that in consequence Marathi has come to be spoken by what may be called the educated classes in official intercourse, though not in the home, bazar and the countryside.

Certain facts have, however, to be taken into consideration:

Linguistic position of the Coastal Talukas.

(1) Till 1885, on the unimpeachable evidence of the Bombay Gazetteer, Umbergaon, Dahanu, and Palgarh talukas were predominantly Gujarati-speaking.

(2) The Christian population speaks Konkani with loan words from Portuguese, Gujarati or Marathi.

(3) Umbergaon and Palgarh being just to the south of the Gujarati-speaking belt, the language of two talukas cannot possibly be Marathi, particularly not among the masses and the villages.

(4) Up to Borivli in the Suburban District, the area is multi-lingual with a predominance of Gujarati among the newly-settled Bombaites.

(5) Bassein is really a suburb of Bombay. Its main trade is to supply Bombay with fruits and vegetables, and hundreds of persons come from it to the city every day for business.

In view of these facts, all the four coastal taluks as shown in Map "V" are really multi-lingual areas, more approximating to the linguistic position in Bombay rather than to Maharashtra or Gujarat. Therefore, these four talukas at least should form part of the new Bombay unit.

The contention that Bombay must be included in Maharashtra on the analogy of an internal area speaking a language different from the surrounding areas

Bombay city not an internal area.

is not sound. Malegaon, a small town surrounded by overwhelmingly Marathi-

speaking population but which has a majority of Muslims, most of whom, however, speak Marathi, was quoted as an instance. Such an analogy will certainly apply to areas which are surrounded on all sides by homogeneous linguistic areas, and dependent on them but not to the new Bombay unit. Bombay sprang up on swampy islands selected by its founder for their being independent of any hinterland. The unit is surrounded on all sides by the sea, connected with the mainland only by three bridges. Its hinterland is the whole country, whose labour has built it up. From the point of view of internal communications, it is an all-India city; on the north it has a bilingual area, on the west and south the open sea.

The example of Calcutta, quoted in support of the plea for incorporating Bombay city into Maharashtra, is inappropriate. Calcutta is a city situated within the linguistically homogeneous province of Bengal. Its life and culture have largely been moulded by the Bengali-speaking

Example of Calcutta not applicable.

people. It has not sprung up as a mere external, independent port. No question has arisen of Calcutta having to be tacked on to one or the other linguistically different sections of Bengal. Bombay, multi-lingual, independent, and all-India, stands entirely on a different footing.

No question of the viability of such a province can possibly arise. Bombay city, including suburbs, will have a surplus of about six to eight crores of

Viability.

rupees as at present. Even if Prohibition is introduced, there will yet remain a surplus of about six crores, which could be augmented by tapping other sources of revenue. In view of the high standard of education, there will be no difficulty about suitable administrative personnel.

The Small Causes Court and the City Court are fed only by local litigation. The Original Side has for years required five Judges; even after the City Court has come into existence at least three Judges are necessary to cope with its work. For appeals from the Original Side and the City

Judiciary of the unit.

Court and Criminal Appeals and Revisions, there will be required at least two Appeal Benches.

A unit of Bombay will be more suited for a centrally-administered area than as a full-fledged province. Most of its important activities are all-India. The Government of India has its diverse important offices there, including the Port Trust, the telegraph, Railway, and the Income-tax offices. There is very little of revenue work. The Police Commissioner at Bombay has got much wider powers than the Police Commissioner of a district. The Bombay Municipal Corporation can be given additional powers like the County Council of London. A Chief Commissioner or a Lieut.-Governor, with a small Council, would be sufficient to administer matters which fall outside the jurisdiction of the Corporation. In view of the integrated judiciary envisaged by the draft Constitution, it may also be possible not to disrupt the present Bombay High Court, but leave it as a High Court with Appellate and Revisional jurisdiction over Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka. This will also mean a considerable saving to the other two provinces.

There is no warrant, either in theory or in practice, for the plea that India must necessarily be divided into autonomous provinces. Under the Govern-

Centrally-administered areas essential.

ment of India Act, 1935, there are many centrally-administered areas. Exigencies of the situation have compelled the Government of India to constitute Himachal Pradesh and Cutch as centrally administered areas. Even under the Draft Constitution, both centrally administered areas as well as territories which are outside the Provinces and States have been recognised. The problem of Defence may require, and in the case of Cutch did require, the creation of a centrally administered area. If linguistic principle is to be strictly enforced, the bi-lingual or multi-lingual areas have as much right to stand out of a uni-lingual area, as the uni-lingual area has to form its own province; and, if a province is not viable or is too small in area, or is it essential to be close-

ly knit with the rapidly growing needs of the Centre, it can only be a centrally administered area. In view of the special difficulties of India, it would be in the interests of the country to have multi-lingual areas, like Bombay City, which have an all-India character constituted as independent units rather than forced into provinces formed under the urge of linguism. Opinion in Gujarat, Karnatak ¹

Opinion in the and the Bombay City except for its Province, Marathi speaking section has been overwhelmingly in favour of the City being made into a separate province, if the province has to be disrupted.

(1) An overwhelming number of witnesses from Karnataka favoured the creation of Bombay City as a separate province. Non-Marathi speaking witnesses from Bombay were unanimous on this point.

ANNEXURE "B"

EXTRACT FROM THE JUDGMENT OF WESTROPP, C.J.

In Sakharam vs. Sitabai, (1879) 3 Bom. p. 365.

"The island of Bombay and the Northern Konkan, including in the latter the island of Karanja, formed part of the kingdom of Gujarat. Karanja, the locality in which the property in dispute in this cause lies, constitutes a portion of the southern side of the harbour of Bombay. Still further south lie the ruins of the city of Chaul (*alias* Chivel, Chevul, Chawul, Cheuwal, Chaupavati, Saimur),¹ and the Revdanda in which Chaul is situate. Colonel Yule, in his second edition of Marco Polo, p. 353, note, says: "Lar Desa, 'the country of Lar' properly *Lat Desa* was an early name for the territory of Gujarat and the Northern Konkan, embracing *Saimur* (the modern Chaul as I believe), Thana and Broach. It appears in Ptolemy in the form *Larike*. The sea to the west of that coast was in the early Mahomedan times called the sea of Lar, and the language spoken on its shores is called by Masudi Lari. Abulfeda's authority, Ibn Said, speaks of Lar and Gujarat as identical;" and in the note to page 383 he says: "Gujarat is mentioned as if it were a province adjoining Malabar, and before arriving at Thana, Cambay and Somnath; though, in fact, it includes those three cities, and Cambay was then its great mart. Wassaf, Polo's contemporary, perhaps acquaintance, speaks of 'Gujarat which is commonly called Kambayat' (Elliot, III, 31)." Colonel Yule, in his note on Polo's chapter on the kingdom of Thana at p. 386, says: "The Konkan is, no doubt, what was intended by the Kingdom of Thana. Albiruni speaks of that city as the capital of the Konkan; Raschid-ud-din calls it *Konkan-Thana*; Ibn Batuta *Kukin-Thana*, the last a form which appears in the Carta Catalana as *Cucin-Thana*." Subsequently he adds: "Barbosa gives it the compound name of Thana-Maiambu, the latter part being the first indication

1. "Gerson Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*", pp. 5, 6, 8, 10, 18, 19.

I know of the name of Bombay (Mambai).” Even in pre-historic times the Konkan so far south as Revdanda is by tradition connected with Gujarat. In speaking of the etymology of the word “Revdanda” Mr. Gerson Da Cunha, in his *History of Chaul and Bassein*, mentions “a tradition current among the Brahmans of the coast to the effect that when Krishna was reigning in Gujarat he had assigned the southern part of his kingdom, which embraced a considerable portion of the Northern Konkan, for the support of Revati, the wife of his brother Balarama; and that the Revatikshatra, or country of Revati, which is often mentioned in the Puranas, correspond to the modern Revdanda.” Coming down to historical times we find that Mr. Nairne, in his learned work on the Konkan, p. 10, says: “In the travels of the merchant Sulliman, written in A.D. 851, the country of Konkan is given as part of the kingdom of Balhara. The name is identified as being that of the dynasty reigning at Walabhi (Balabhipma) in Gujarat; but the kingdom of the Konkan is believed to have been originally an independent one. Raschid-ud-din about A.D. 1300 mentions “Konkan of which the capital is Thana on the sea-shore.” But further on, he mentions Gujarat as a large country within which are Cambay, Somnath, Konkan, “Thana and several other cities and towns” and again “Beyond Gujarat are Konkan and Thana, beyond them the country of Malabar.” Though it is not clear from this whether the Konkan was tributary to Gujarat or not, yet that it was a separate province, with a capital called Thana, is plain.” As to the expulsion of the Bahmini dynasty from the Konkan by the sovereigns of Gujarat, see the same work, pp. 24 to 26. Mr. Nairne, in speaking of the 15th (Christian) century, says: “About this time also the Gujarat kingdom was divided into five governments, one of which, including, no doubt, the whole of the North Konkan, had Thana as its capital.” Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone says¹ of the Konkan: “I suppose the inhabitants were always Marathas.” Referring to this remark Mr. Nairne observes.² “But there is a great differ-

1. *History*, p. 218, 4th ed.

2. “*The Konkan*” p. 3, *Introd.*

ence between the inhabitants of the northern and those of the southern half. The latter may properly be called purely Maratha, and the castes are few and very exactly defined; but in the north there are several somewhat mixed castes, and, except for comparatively recent settlers, a total absence of pure Marathas and Brahmins." Formerly, the boundary between the Northern and Southern Konkan was deemed to be the Savitri River, which divides the Habshi's territory from the Ratnagiri Collectorate¹ and enters the sea at Bankot. Mr. Erskine, in his history of the Emperors Baber and Humayun, says² "After the death of Muzaffar Shah, several of his descendants increased the territory of Gujarat. His grandson, Ahmed Shah, a very distinguished prince and the founder of Ahmedabad, reduced under his power nearly the whole country that forms the present Gujarat, including the low lands to the south below the ghats, the Northern Konkan (Konkan) and the island of Bombay." Mr. Kinloch Forbes, in addition to Bombay and the Konkan, specifies the island of Salsette (which, no doubt, ordinarily is deemed part of the Northern Konkan) as belonging to the kings of Gujarat.³ And when Sultan Bahadur, one of the successors of Ahmed on the throne of Gujarat, ceded in A.D. 1534, to the King of Portugal "the city of Bacaim (Bassein) with all its territories, continental as well as islands and seas"⁴ Salsette, Bombay, Karanja, Elephanta &c., and a portion of the adjacent main land of the Northern Konkan passed, under that treaty, to the Portuguese as part of the dependencies of Bassein; and subsequently, when (A.D. 1661) the King of Portugal ceded the island of Bombay to Charles the Second, it was a matter of dispute between the English and the Portuguese whether or not Salsette and Karanja passed to the English Monarch as part of the appurtenances of the island

1. *The Konkan*, p. 2.

2. Vol. II, p. 20, and see *Elph. Hist.*, p. 674, 4th ed.

3. "*Ras-Mala*" 2nd ed. p. 269; 1st ed., Vol. I, p. 350.

4. *Secretary of State v. Bombay Landing Co.*, 5 Bom. H. C. Rep.. O. C. J. 32, 33, *De Couto, 4th Decada*, Pt. II, Liv. IV, c.xxvii, pp. 527, 530 et. seq., *Lisbon*, ed. of 1777. *De Couto, General Index*, p. 319 and Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 234.

of Bombay.⁵ Connected, then as Karanja and the rest of the Northern Konkan so frequently were with Gujarat and Bombay down to that period, we should scarcely expect to find a Hindu Law of Succession prevailing at one side of Bombay harbour different from that existing in the island of Bombay and in Gujarat.

5. Warden's *Essay on the Landed Tenures of Bombay*, p. 3, para. 8. Eventually after the fall of Bassein in A. D. 1739, the Portuguese ceded it, Salsette, Karanja, Revdanda &c., &c. to the Peishwa (Gerson Da Cunha's *Hist. of Chaul and Bassein* pp. 72, 73); and finally in A. D. 1774 Salsette and Karanja were ceded by the Peishwa to the Government of Bombay.

